/173 cont./

123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

621 It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
623 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
[361] which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses. An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

/186 cont./

[77 797 871 515 853] Today all children are obliged to attend school in the mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision. The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun, which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults, that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy, etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It may also happen that a family with ten children has become so large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself. In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

[853 855 593]

[854 482] Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or séntyatc), in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back, are needed for this.

[857 868] The games of the children are generally instructive for their later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pɛ̃t), the plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children, and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

[231]

/255 cont./
802 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below//see pp. 190 ff./). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps [845] leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized
797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian missionizing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure, with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades
797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion
177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan-
● 871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the [178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is [756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, especially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
182 natural and normal development of human existence is not obstructed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/190 cont./
them during the day. They use no blankets. The woman leaves sufficient wood on the fire for heat to protect them from the rigors of the cold of the night which filters through the stalks of the walls. In addition, over the fire there is a pot of "mute," beans, and cabbage, which, when cooked, will constitute the meal at daybreak. The fire is revived by the woman at 11 o'clock, an operation that is repeated about two o'clock in the morning. At four o'clock in the morning everyone is up. At dawn the woman distributes the food, and then the men come out of their houses with machetes in their belts, kuetand yaha filled with coca and mambe, to clear the woodland, weed the fields, or help with the hard work of their neighbors.

V

Anger, Rancor, and Politics

The Calderas Indians are arch conservatives. Tradition, pride, and a rebel spirit have much to do with their passion for politics. I do not speak of the conservative doctrine or of political concepts. They are conservatives by temperament and group solidarity. By the same token, their fanaticism is proverbial. The mere mention of the word "liberal" makes them break out in a rash. Anyone who comes to Calderas for the first time is approached by the Indians out of curiosity. "What is your name?" "What do you want?" "Why did you come?" "What are you, liberal or conservative?" These are the questions with which the natives and even the local cabildo besiege the visitor. It should be added that those who wish to save their skins or to avoid being run out of town must maintain that they are conservatives. It is said that in 1952 they did not want to accept the Missionary Sisters who came to run the school which is supported by the national government.

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871 them remain."
829

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

Mosoco Family Expenses -- 1953

Fams.	Taxes		Education		Candles-soap		Coca	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
1.	1,70	..	30,00	0,6	120,00	2,4	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	8,00	1,2	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	3,0	... ..	...
4.	... ..	..	6,00	0,8	64,80	8,2	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	5,00	0,9	45,60	8,9	... ..	...
6.	... ..	..	10,00	0,9	57,60	5,5	... ..	...
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	45,60	4,8	... ..	...
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	7,0	... ..	...
9.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,00	4,4	... ..	...
10.	... ..	..	... ..	...	60,00	7,3	72,00	8,8
11.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,2	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	62,40	9,4	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	72,00	6,7	... ..	...
14.	... ..	..	4,00	0,3	28,00	2,3	... ..	...
15.	... ..	..	... ..	...	62,40	5,2	96,00	7,3
16.	... ..	..	... ..	...	26,40	4,8	... ..	...
17.	... ..	..	... ..	...	18,00	6,0	... ..	...
18.	... ..	..	... ..	...	84,00	4,3	... ..	...
19.	... ..	..	30,00	1,8	... ..	...	... ..	...
20.	... ..	..	... ..	...	36,00	6,3	... ..	...
21.	... ..	..	... ..	...	50,40	8,5	120,00	20,3
22.	11,60	0,8	... ..	...	100,00	7,2	... ..	...
23.	... ..	..	... ..	...	57,60	9,5	... ..	...
24.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	62,00	3,9	... ..	...
25.	4,50	..	1.745,00	17,3	150,00	1,4	... ..	...

Lame

1.	... ..	..	30,00	1,2	28,80	1,0	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	...	14,40	5,1	60,00	21,3
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	8,00	1,7	... ..	...
4.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	180,00	38,4
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	9,60	1,8	54,00	10,5
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	72,00	25,8
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...

San Andres

1.	2,40	..	180,00	3,3	?	?	... ..	...
2.	... ..	..	... ..	..	?	?	30,00	33,8
3.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
4.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	... ..	...
5.	5,00	0,8	8,00	1,2	37,20	5,9	96,00	15,3
6.	... ..	..	... ..	...	26,00	14,5	40,00	16,0
7.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	43,00	14,6
8.	... ..	..	... ..	...	?	?	17,50	3,8
9.	... ..	..	5,00	1,1	30,00	6,7	24,00	5,4
10.	34,20	3,3	... ..	...	67,20	3,0	... ..	...
11.	7,75	0,2	60,00	2,1	108,00	3,9	... ..	...
12.	... ..	..	... ..	...	21,60	12,7	... ..	...
13.	... ..	..	... ..	...	28,80	4,6	... ..	...
14.	... ..	..	515,00	13,2	?	?	... ..	...
15.	13,00	0,4	15,00	0,5	?	?	... ..	...

/361/

75 Their importance is emphasized if we make a comparison
511 with the parcialidad of San Andrés, where there is a Centro de
743 Salud duly staffed by a registered nurse, and furthermore, not far away, there is the Centro de Higiene of Inzá, staffed by a doctor and a group of nurses whose services are free and who also distribute free drugs. In spite of this, the natives do not always go to these centers, preferring their own doctors and most commonly the tê eu of Calderas.

651 Concerning taxes, we have already said that the immovables
511 of the native communities are exempt from this type of encumbrance; hence, the column reserved for this type of expense remains empty. The few figures that are found in it are payments on immovables within the settlement area and, in one case or another, the payment of taxes for the exercise of trade in various plazas of the municipio of Inzá.

511 The amounts devoted to the education of children are the
871 smallest, if we except those of the "white" informants, some of
[563] whom have their children in high schools, in rural normal schools,
[115] and even at the university. In the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame, they are practically null. The children of San Andrés go to school, as a rule, unprovided with school supplies, carrying in their bags provisions for lunch, consisting of manioc and cooked plantains, mote, and roasted maize, since the dwellings are located at a distance of several kilometers from the school, with very bad and rugged paths. School cafeterias and the donating of school supplies are more than indispensable in these regions. These children go to school irregularly and do not remain there for more than two years; they are taught in Spanish, and on the
[562] whole the benefit is minimal. Girls attend in smaller numbers
[212] than boys; the adults believe that women do not need to learn to read and write. This situation is different in Mosoco. The children of both sexes attend school and try to attend regularly, and many walk several kilometers a day; the fathers of families are interested in having their children learn to read, write, and count, and for this reason they try to outfit them with some equipment for their tasks of apprenticeship.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5//(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

Education.—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

Marriage.[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

Death.—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.